



SEGREGATION IN EVANSTON AN IMPACT STUDY

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EVANSTON: IMPACT STUDY

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INTRODUCTION

The City of Evanston, Illinois is prepared to implement the Local Reparations Restorative Housing Program. This impact study identified the historical harms of Evanston city government institute residential segregation, the scope of its current impact on other elements of life, and the need for the remedial actions effectuated in the Resolution.

This impact study was conducted for the City of Evanston as it prepared for the implementation of the Local Reparations Restorative Housing Program. This study examined the historical background of the City of Evanston in order to 1) identify and provide specific details about the effects of past discrimination by the city and 2) provide context for the examination of past discrimination, racial segregation, and racial injustice. While the City of Evanston was not incorporated until 1863, the historical background included events that occurred prior to its formation, since those events impacted programs and policies that were later developed in Evanston.

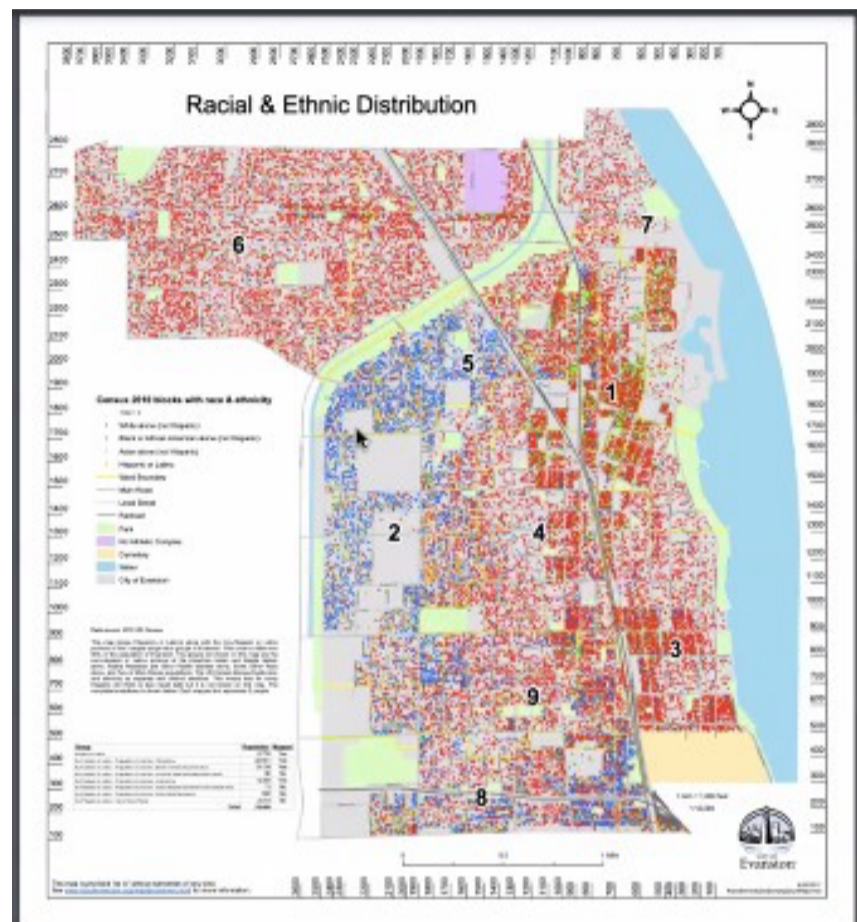


Figure 1. This map shows how the demographics in modern Evanston still reflect redlining and racial zoning practices.

Next, the study addressed the scope of the injury and harm to the Black community in Evanston. Policies that were created with racial animus led to the development of programs formed with the specific intention of harm to the Black community. Once implemented, these programs impacted the infrastructure of the Black community in Evanston.

In order to understand the scope of the injury, this study conducted an abbreviated factor analysis to examine the interrelationship between a large set of variables.

This analysis reflected not only the direct correlation between specific harms and the individuals who were impacted, but also the secondary and tertiary harms to their families and the Black community in Evanston. Outcomes that exist today directly correlated to the creation of an infrastructure that diminished opportunities for the Black community in Evanston. Further, this study demonstrated the causal relationship between discriminatory policies over a period of time and outcomes today.

HISTORICAL RACIAL HOUSING SEGREGATION

The history of racial segregation in Evanston, Illinois is well documented. With support from organizations such as the Evanston NAACP, Shorefront Historic Preservation, and others, original documents including news articles, publications, and advertisements were reviewed during the preparation of this study.

Exclusion of the Black community in Evanston began before the city itself was incorporated. While the town of Evanston was named in 1957,¹ the city was only incorporated in 1863. The ban on the entry of Black people into Illinois was established in 1819 and affirmed in 1829, and again in 1853.²

In Illinois, it was a misdemeanor for any African American to come to the state with the intention of residing there.³ Alongside enslavement practices, the Black community was denied individual liberties including the right to vote and access to government funds. Additionally, African Americans were required to carry a certification should they be designated freed outside of the state. Although the Illinois abolished slavery in 1848, the state followed the U.S. Congress Fugitive Slave Law (1850) which protected the slave owner at all costs: “but no State can pass a law which will interfere with the right of the master to his slave, or in any other way infringe upon that proportion of the subject.”

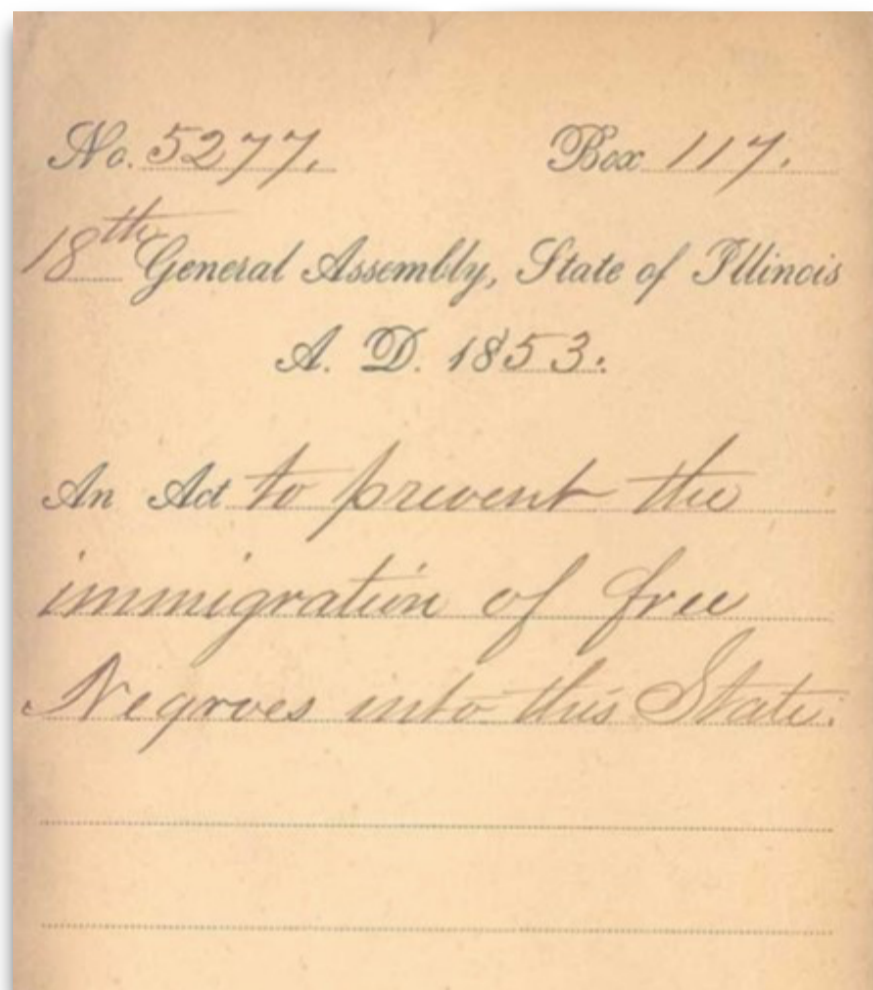


Figure 2. Ban on the entry of free Blacks into Illinois.

The Supreme Court decision, *Dred Scott v. Sanford*, 60 U.S. 393 (1857) further disenfranchised the Black community when Chief Justice Roger Taney cited the “perpetual and impassable barrier was *intended* to be erected between the white race and the one which they had reduced to slavery. [emphasis added]”⁴

Exclusion of blacks in Evanston continued into the 20th century. In the *Indiana Gazette*, a headline on February 23, 1918 read, “*Classic Evanston Will Be Invaded by Negroes*” in an article

¹ City of Evanston, *History and Demographics*, <https://www.cityofevanston.org/about-evanston/history-and-demographics>

² *Evanston policies and practices directly Affected the African Americans 1900-1960 (and Present)*. Robinson Morris Jr. and Jenny Thompson (2020)

³ *The Black Codes, 1856-1867*. Goodman Byne Francis, 1912, p. 55

⁴ *Dred Scott v. Sanford*, 60 U.S. 393, were at that time considered as a subordinate and inferior class of beings who had been subjugated by the dominant race, and, whether emancipated or not, yet remained subject to their authority, and had no rights or privileges.” Page 60 U. S. 405

announcing the arrival of an exclusive negro men's club.⁵ In 1919, the City of Evanston hired Harland Bartholomew & Associates as an urban planner and, by 1921, the zoning ordinance that coded segregation into the infrastructure of the city was approved by the council.⁶

During the mid-20th century Harland Bartholomew & Associates, the leader in "scientific city-efficient planning," zoned cities with the belief that the issues regarding "Black residency [] could only be alleviated by the removal of the surplus population rather than through the improvement of their conditions."⁷ His work led to economic disintegration, subdivisions, slum clearance, and infamously low standards of living in the Black community, known as the ghetto.

"the greatest and most serious housing needs are in the North End of the 5th Ward where colored people live in bad overcrowding."

Evanston City Council Minutes,
August 26, 1946

Oral histories, news articles, and original documents portray a city that was developing within the industrial revolution where entire Black sections of town were denied access to electricity and public services. Construction, air, noise, and water pollution were zoned to take place in the Black part of town while white neighborhoods and subdivisions were being zoned as residential purposes with restrictions on industrial development. As Black families fled racial violence in the southern states, overcrowding in Black subdivisions became severe. A historical analysis performed by the University of Richmond discussed the overcrowding within Evanston, IL, reporting that "neighborhood houses the large Negro population living in Evanston...There is not a vacant house in the territory, and occupancy, moreover, is about 150 per cent, for most houses have more than one family living in them."⁸

Racial Segregation in Evanston: A History

1859

Before the City of Evanston was founded, the underground railroad was active in the Illinois territory. Black Codes existed to restrict immigration of black residents. The first documented black resident of Evanston was Maria Murray Robinson.



1909

As anti black violence escalated across the country, the NAACP was founded in 1909 as an answer to race based violence, segregation and racial discrimination. Black organizations including the fraternities and sororities organized to improve black communities in Evanston.



1919

As the Red Summer of 1919 ended, zoning ordinances were passed across the state. In 1921, Evanston passed a race based zoning ordinance that forced black families to live on the black side of the train tracks in segregated neighborhoods.



1940

Segregation in beaches, public parks, theaters, restaurants and stores continued in Evanston as the black population increased due to the Great Migration. Additional race based zoning classifications further alienated and disenfranchised black residents of Evanston.



1958

Despite segregation, black communities created social clubs and thriving black traditions. In 1958, when the Foster School was destroyed in a fire, black students integrated into surrounding all-white schools, but were not given access to resources.



1968

A slum clearance in anticipation of a new dorm for Northwestern meant demolition of existing buildings and clearance of defective plumbing, electrical, and heating systems resulting in fires. 1968 was a summer of protest around the country.



1985

Racial segregation continued despite legal segregation ending. Integrated high schools separate proms and events for black and white students. A study of real estate practices showed discrimination and the city did nothing to prevent these actions.



2019

The City of Evanston passed legislation to redress the past harms of racial segregation. Under the legislation, black families in Evanston would be able to receive funds that redress past harms and invite a better future.



This timeline was adapted from historical research published on the City of Evanston's website. The work of historian Dino Robinson was particularly helpful. For sources of images and references, citations and photo credits, see the appendix at the end of this report.

⁵ Indiana Gazette, a headline on February 23, 1918 said, "Classic Evanston Will Be Invaded by Negroes," in an article announcing the arrival of an exclusive negro men's club. See Appendix for a clip of the original article.

⁶ Zoning Ordinance, Evanston, Illinois, Passed By the City Council of The City of Evanston, January 18, 1921, John F. Hahn, City Clerk.

⁷ Matthew Benton, "Saving" the City: Harland Bartholomew and Administrative Evil in St. Louis Public Integrity, 2017

⁸ Mapping Inequality, Redlining in New Deal American, Evanston, IL, Description and characteristics of area. University of Richmond's Digital Scholarship Lab

Housing discrimination practices in Evanston were a microcosm of the greater political landscape. The Federal Housing Administration’s red-lining based on mortgage worthiness developed as a result of a 1930s gathering of the Home Owners’ Loan Corporation.⁹ Real estate companies, mortgage lenders, and contractors developed color-coded maps indicating whether communities were credit-worthy. Evanston’s red-lined communities are outlined in the HOLC map, which demonstrates that the area deemed ineligible for FHA mortgages was primarily the 5th ward: the section of Evanston zoned to segregate Black community members.

Evanston’s hospitals disallowed the employment of Black doctors and restricted treatment of Black patients. The Black community rallied and founded their own hospital, the Evanston Sanitarium, later known as Butler Memorial. An interracial committee took charge of the hospital after the death of one of the hospital founders. The committee was charged to keep Black patients away from the predominately white hospitals, Evanston and St. Francis hospitals.¹⁰

In November 1963, a group of Northwestern students, in partnership with Evanston lawyer and Chairman of the United Citizens Council for Freedom of Residence in Illinois, Donald Frey, circulated a petition calling on Evanston City Council to amend its rooming house ordinance – specifically, to end housing discrimination through selective renting. The petition called for the housing code to be amended to require Evanston landlords to rent to anyone regardless of “race, creed, color or national origin.” The group collected 3,000 student signatures and brought their case before the Evanston Community Relations Commission and City Council.¹¹

In October 1967, the Evanston City Council passed an ordinance to establish a city-issued real estate license that could be revoked if individuals were found to be practicing discrimination in the rental, sale, and advertising of housing. However, critics argued that exemptions granted to property owners, financial institutions, and real estate agencies made it ineffective. In 1968, the Evanston City Council passed a new fair housing ordinance.

In 1978, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that cities and towns, including Evanston, could not impose the penalties warranted by the ordinance, as only the state could impose such a penalty.

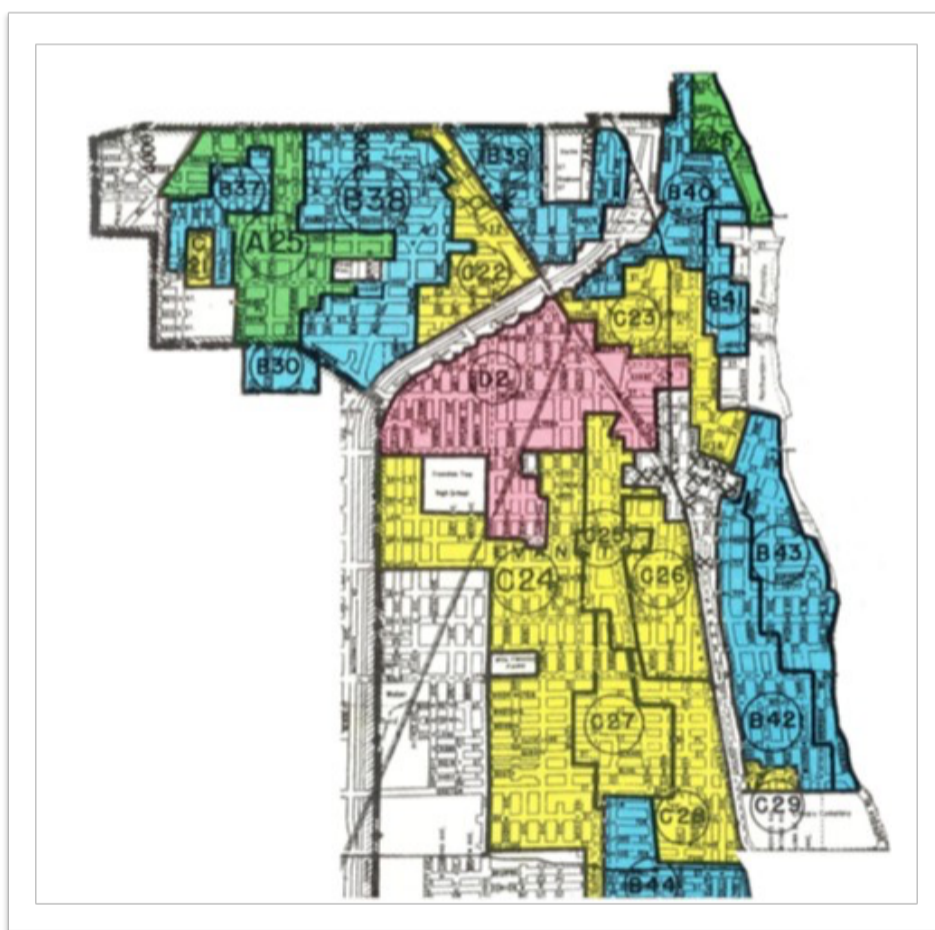


Figure 3. Current de facto racial segregation

⁹ *Ibid.* See also, Appendix, Image HOLC map, Evanston, Il. Red-lining of 5th Ward.

¹⁰ Evanston policies and practices directly Affected the African Americans 1900-1960 (and Present). Robinson Morris Jr. and Jenny Thompson (2020)

¹¹ City of Evanston, City Clerk Memo. The Case for Reparations. Devon Reid to Robin Rue Simmons (April 18, 2019).

In 1985, a study of Evanston revealed use of “racial steering” practices by certain realtors, whereby African American renters and buyers were “steered” toward certain properties and away from other areas of the city. This prompted Mayor James C. Lytle to appoint a committee to investigate and correct the problem.¹²

In 2002, the City Council and its members supported national reparations legislation with the adoption of Resolution 43-R-02. Community members advocated for appropriate redress of specific issues implicated in their city. In November 2019, the Evanston City Council adopted Resolution 58-R-19., *Commitment to End Structural Racism and Achieve Racial Equity*.

The City of Evanston also adopted Resolution 126-R-19, Establishing a City of Evanston Funding Source Devoted to Local Reparations. Resolution 126-R-19 committed \$10 million in revenue from recreational cannabis retailers’ tax as reparations for local housing and economic development programs.

¹² Ibid.

SCOPE OF THE INJURY: IMPACT OF RACIAL HOUSING SEGREGATION

Policies that were created with racial animus led to the development of programs formed with the specific intention of harming the Black community. The programs created during racial segregation, once implemented, impacted the infrastructure of the city of Evanston. Therefore, the outcomes demonstrate a causal relationship between exclusionary zoning policies and current racial disparities in Evanston.

Analytical framework

Exclusionary zoning policies perpetrated by the City of Evanston included relocation of Black homes in the 1920s as well as redlining and segregation-driven housing practices in the 1930s and 40s. On a national scale, ample research demonstrates the direct causal relationship between racial segregation and a myriad of harmful impacts to African American residents. These harms include, but are not limited to: diminished economic opportunity, health disparities, over-policing, and reduced access to educational resources.

However, the scope of the injury reaches far beyond its direct impact.

Fundamentally, this analysis seeks to link multiple dependent variables to an array of causal factors. In this study, we link the series of discriminatory housing policies implemented by the local government in Evanston in the early twentieth century and the corresponding residential segregation to a number of interrelated harms pervading almost all aspects of African American residents' lived experience.

Nexus between local government policy and racial segregation

In Evanston, the exclusionary zoning policy drafted by Harlan Bartholemew & Associates in 1919 strategically designed racial segregation. In *Segregation by Design*, researcher Jessica Trounstone writes, "Local government policy is a fundamental driver of race and class segregation in America" since it is through policies, and the effect of such policies, that property value can be derived.¹³ Ultimately, low property values derived from strategic and segregated zoning practices that determine the quality of services that local governments provide to residents.

Public nuisance

Imagine cities across the United States at the height of the industrial revolution with construction of tall buildings, bridges, highways, and all the parts that make up a municipality. This was a time that predated EPA regulations for air and water quality. Populations in cities were growing exponentially and the baby boom ensured long term population growth. In response, urban

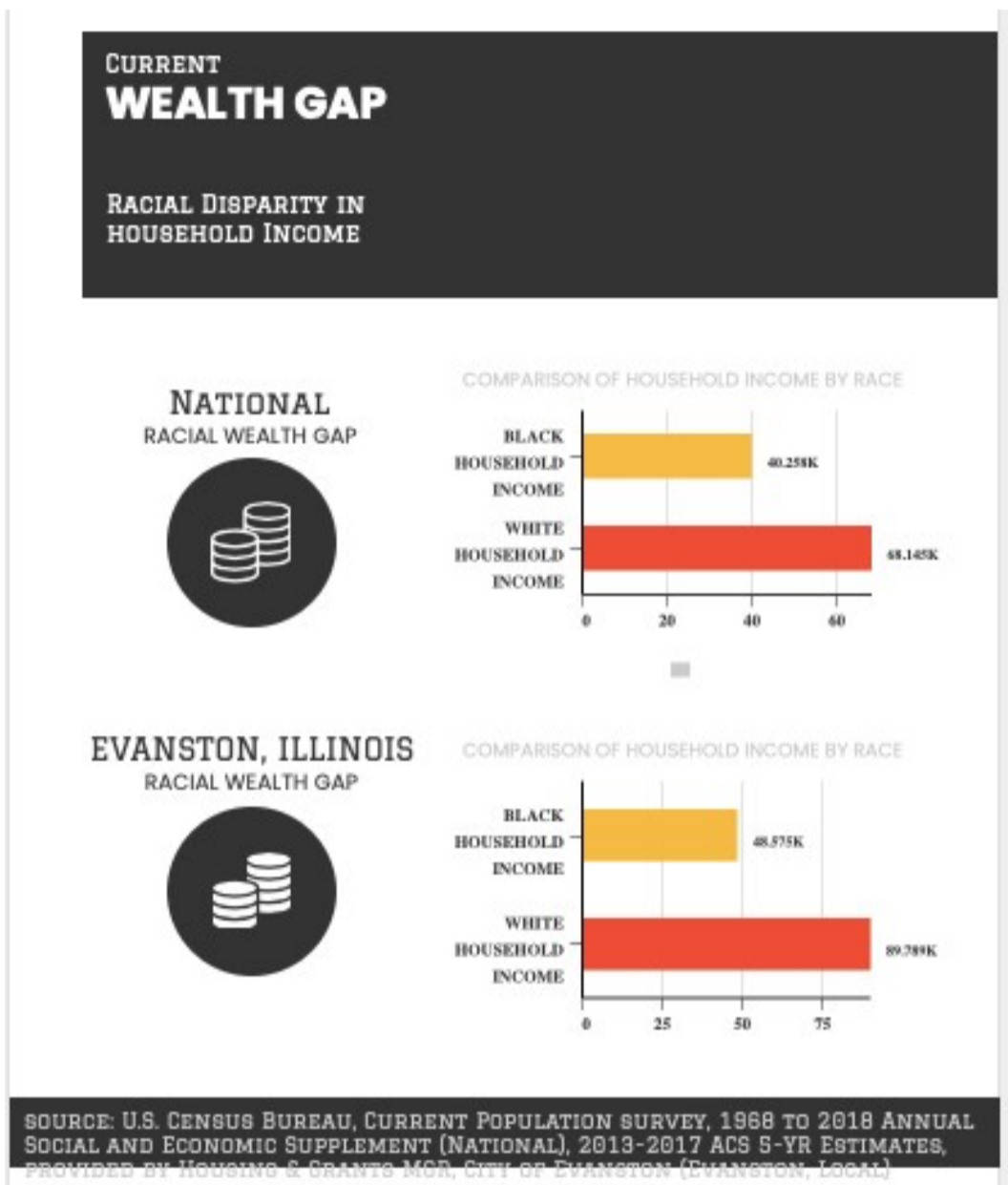
¹³ Jessica Trounstone, *Segregation by Design*, <https://inside.ccsi.org/CCSIPortal/media/content/PDFs/segregation-by-design.pdf> (23) a national study of the impacts of segregationist policies implemented by local governments

planners zoned sections of the city for public nuisance. Black communities were intentionally zoned next to major construction sites and industrial hazards. In commercial zones, air pollution, noise pollution, and water pollution were common. Unsanitary conditions, combined with intentional underfunding for public works projects, led to major issues in terms of environmental justice and health disparities.

Housing discrimination leads to economic disparity between Black and white Americans

Among the most immediate and tangible harms residential segregation has on the African American community in Evanston is economic loss and limited income potential. Residential segregation exacerbates economic disparity by concentrating it in impoverished, densely populated areas. In other words, racial ghettos.

Through a study of fifty major cities across the United States, researchers Douglas A. Massey, Andrew Gross, and Mitchell Eggers found that racial segregation significantly intensifies increases in the Black poverty rate, and with it, intensifies the rate at which unemployment among Black males and the prevalence of single mothers increases in Black communities.¹⁴



Massey writes, “Racial segregation is the institutional nexus that enables the transmission of poverty from person to person and generation to generation and is therefore a primary structural factor behind the perpetuation of the urban underclass.”¹⁵

National income statistics demonstrated persistent Black-white disparities. African American employees are paid, on average, 82.4 percent of their white counterparts.¹⁶ The median household wealth for African Americans is, on average, one-ninth—\$15,000 as compared to \$140,000—that of white Americans. These disparities seen at the national level were also documented among Evanston’s residents. The median wage gap between white and African American individuals in Evanston is \$46,000. The unemployment rate among African American individuals in Evanston was recorded as more than double that of their white neighbors. The

¹⁴ Douglas S. Massey, “America’s Apartheid and the Urban Underclass: The Social Service Review Lecture,” <https://www.jstor.org/stable/30012253>, 481

¹⁵ Ibid, 480

¹⁶ Ibid.

percentage of African American residents below the poverty line in Evanston also remained greater than that of white residents.

Racial segregation leads to health and health care disparities

Researchers Rachel Morello-Frosch and Russ Lopez illustrated the causal pathway from segregation to environmental health disparity via the following framework: “[S]tructural mechanisms ... lead to residential segregation and result in community- and individual-level factors that influence disease burdens among diverse populations. Segregation solidifies racial disparities in socioeconomic status (SES), and it shapes the distribution of resources and wealth at the individual and community levels with important implications for community health ... these community and individual-level factors influence the exposure–health outcome continuum by increasing exposures to environmental hazards, amplifying the probability of adverse health effects, and affecting the ability to recover from hazardous exposures.”

Nationally, African Americans have higher average and infant mortality rates than white individuals. The National Center for Health Statistics finds an, on average, 3.8-year life-expectancy gap between African American and white individuals. A study of over 570 urban hospitals analyzing the causes of hospital closures found that urban hospitals were more likely to close if they were serving populations with higher percentages of African American individuals.

For the most relevant impacts of racial disparity in Evanston, Illinois, one need only look to the disproportionate rates of COVID-19 diagnoses between African American and white residents. African American studies Prof. Celeste Watkins-Hayes suggested Evanston’s data supports research that demonstrates African Americans often have a lack of access to adequate healthcare and are overrepresented as essential workers in industries such as grocery stores.¹⁷ Available data from the Illinois Department of Health revealed that cumulative positive test rates for African Americans were more than double that of white residents.¹⁸

Racial segregation leads to over-policing of Black communities

Another repercussion of the stringent racial segregation systematically imposed by the Evanston city government is the continual, over policing of African American residents by law enforcement officers. Data from the City of Evanston’s open data portal demonstrated that the total demographic breakdown of Evanston’s population is 18.1 percent African American and 65.6 percent white.¹⁹ However, 60 percent of adult arrests in 2017 were of African American individuals, while only 29 percent were of white individuals, making African Americans twice as likely to be arrested as their white counterparts. Among juveniles, over 70 percent of arrests were of African American youth, while fewer than 14.7 percent of arrests were of white youth.

¹⁷ Marissa Martinez, April 10, 2020, The myth of the ‘great equalizer’: Preliminary data show Black Evanston residents contract virus at higher rates. Daily Northwestern, <https://dailynorthwestern.com/2020/04/11/city/the-myth-of-the-great-equalizer-preliminary-data-show-black-evanston-residents-contrast-virus-at-higher-rates/>

¹⁸ Karen Larkin Young, Evanston Roundtable, “COVID-19 Racial Demographics Update,” <https://evanstonroundtable.com/2021/01/18/covid-19-racial-demographics-update/>

¹⁹ City of Evanston, “2010 Evanston Race Demographics” <https://data.cityofevanston.org/Community-Development/2010-Evanston-Race-Demographics/j228-4hwk/data>

Furthermore, the vast majority—71 percent—of pat downs were of African American individuals, as compared to 24 percent of white individuals.²⁰

Drug arrests, particularly regarding marijuana, were utilized as a primary means of policing Black communities. For example, according to data from 2019, 71 percent of the city’s cannabis arrests over the course of the preceding three years were of African American individuals, as compared to only 15 percent consisting of white individuals. Compliance tickets, a less stringent cannabis disciplinary measure for individuals found with 10 grams or fewer of cannabis, were also disproportionately issued to African American individuals: 57 percent of cannabis compliance ticket recipients were African American, while only 21 percent were white. Despite this discrepancy between Black and white populations regarding marijuana arrests and tickets, marijuana usage has been demonstrated to be the same between both demographics. According to Brookings, as of 2017, “Black Americans are nearly 3.5 times as likely to be arrested for marijuana possession, although, as research from Social Mobility Memos shows, marijuana use is nearly the same between black and white Americans.”²¹

Residential segregation leads to diminished opportunities for growth

Among the most harmful impacts of racial segregation was the toll that it had and continues to have on young students and lost potential for the future. Nationally, the ties between segregation and diminished academic performance are well documented. Racial segregation has been found to correlate with lower academic performance (as measured by test scores, graduation rates, and placement into advanced classes), fewer resources (as indicated by instructor quality, strength of curricula, and designated support providers), and overall wellness (as measured by, for example, underage pregnancy rates).²²

Racial educational disparity in Evanston and nationwide remains pervasive and significant. In School District 65, which encompasses Evanston and neighboring Skokie, research demonstrated that white students excelled far beyond their peers in academic achievement, performing at 3.9 grades beyond the average American student between grades three through eight. In contrast, African American students in School District 65 trailed behind the average American student by more than half a grade level.²³ This discrepancy between student grades can be attributed to various factors that inhibit education for Black students. Such factors are discussed in a study by Brookings, which found that, “after controlling for socioeconomic status, the large disparities in achievement between black and white students were almost entirely due to differences in the qualifications of their teachers. In combination, differences in teacher expertise and class sizes accounted for as much of the measured variance in achievement as did student and family background.”²⁴

²⁰ City of Evanston, “Pat Downs” <https://data.cityofevanston.org/Police/Pat-Downs/jebw-u9hd/data>

²¹ Brookings, “Marijuana Use By Race,” 2017, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/brookings-now/2017/08/11/charts-of-the-week-marijuana-use-by-race/>.

²² David R. Williams and Chiquita Collins, “Racial Residential Segregation: A Fundamental Cause of Racial Disparities in Health,” <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4598675>, 406

²³ Bloomberg Businessweek, “Black Students Don’t Even Get an Equal Education in Diverse Schools,” <https://www.bloomberg.com/features/2016-america-divided/education/>

²⁴ Linda Darling-Hammond, “Unequal Opportunity: Race and Education,” Brookings, 1998, <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/unequal-opportunity-race-and-education/>.

Furthermore, in-school suspensions in Evanston remained disproportionately and overwhelmingly of African American students. In 2019, despite a broad decrease in suspensions across all racial groups, African American students remained more than 3.3 times as likely to be suspended than their white peers.²⁵ In the three preceding years from 2016 through 2018, suspensions of African American students climbed from 71 to 81 to 91 percent, while those of white students remained only a small fraction of that number, consistently below 20 percent.²⁶ Within Evanston's Fifth Ward, where the majority—54 percent of the corresponding census tract—of the population reported as African American, there has not been a single public school since the Foster School, a predominantly African American high school regarded as a cornerstone of the Fifth Ward's African American community, was closed in 1966.²⁷

²⁵ Evanston Now, "District 65 Suspensions Down; Racial Disparity Remains," <https://evanstonnow.com/district-65-suspensions-down-racial-disparity-remains/>

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Max Lubbers and Olivia Alexander, "Over 50 years since Foster School: Community members continue push to reintroduce a 5th Ward public neighborhood school," The Daily Northwestern, 2021, <https://dailynorthwestern.com/2021/07/09/city/efforts-to-establish-public-neighborhood-school-in-5th-ward-ramp-up/>.

REDRESSING HISTORICAL AND CURRENT HARMS

Race neutral remedies have been insufficient in addressing harms in Evanston. Therefore, race *conscious* policy was necessitated by the racially driven policies that created the damages.

Reparative and restorative actions are part of the legacy of the Evanston community. Even during the most egregious period of harm to the Black community in the United States, slavery, Evanston hosted safe spaces for small segments of its Black population to nurture the next generation: Evanston, as part of the Illinois territory, in general, was part of the “under-ground railroad” and never legally supported slavery. Illinois fought to abolish slavery in the United States and Abraham Lincoln himself received his license to practice law from the Illinois Supreme Court and served on the Illinois General Assembly for several terms during the 1830s and 40s. This section examines a myriad of efforts to redress racial harm, including civil rights legislation, and the impact of these efforts on the community.

During the Civil Rights Era, several efforts were made to end housing discrimination.²⁸ Years before the Fair Housing Act was passed, activists in Evanston petitioned to end housing discrimination through selective renting when the petition called for the housing code to be amended to require Evanston landlords to rent to anyone regardless of “race, creed, color or national origin.”²⁹ In 1967, the Evanston City Council passed an ordinance to establish a city-issued real estate license that could be revoked if individuals were found to be practicing discrimination in the rental, sale, and advertising of housing.³⁰ In 1979, the Illinois Human Rights Act, 775 ILCS 5/1-101 et seq. was passed into law, forbidding any act of discrimination “with respect to employment, financial credit, public accommodations and real estate transactions.”³¹ The legislation aimed to remedy discriminatory treatment of others based on race, color, religion, and sex. However, many race neutral efforts to end housing discrimination failed to invest in the community that was harmed. In 1985, legal remedy was sought to address discriminatory lending and real estate practices in Evanston.³²

By the 1990s, it was clear that race-neutral policies from the Civil Rights Era needed to be strengthened by reparations efforts that invested in the community that was disinvested from during the period of harm. In the 1990s, the Office of Management Budget began collecting data on race.³³ This enabled researchers to more easily categorize data that reflected racial disparities, inequality, and reduced quality of life.

Environmental pollution and environmental racism, economic and employment disparity,

²⁸ Land Use, City of Evanston, General Comprehensive Plan (Adopted 1972) <https://www.cityofevanston.org/home/showpublisheddocument/33306/636501392373000000>

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Chapter 5, Fair Housing Ordinance of the City of Evanston, Title 5 - Housing Regulations, https://library.municode.com/il/evanston/codes/code_of_ordinances?nodeId=TIT5HORE_CH5FAHOOR

³¹ Illinois Human Rights Act, 775 ILCS 5/1 et seq. <https://www.ilga.gov/legislation/ilcs/ilcs5.asp?ActID=2266&ChapterID=64>

³² Ibid.

³³ “The US Office of Management and Budget provide guidance for the minimum number of categories for collecting and reporting data on race and ethnicity.” (noting, These standards were established in 1997.)... <https://www.ahajournals.org/doi/10.1161/JAHA.119.014272> citing Office of Management and Budget, Executive Office of the President . Revisions to the standards for the classification of federal data on race and ethnicity. Fed Reg. 1997; 62:58782–58790. “These race and ethnicity categories are important for programmatic and policy decisions at the federal, state, and local levels.”

education inequity, and disparities in health and healthcare were identified, analyzed, and eventually tied to segregation and racially discriminatory practices. For instance, employment data demonstrated that although “unemployment within Evanston’s Black community has risen from 5% to 15%, the average unemployment rate remains at 0-8% since the 1950s.”³⁴ Similarly, when examining Evanston’s median income, data demonstrated a continued Black-white disparity with the historically segregated 5th ward reporting “median ranges from \$45,000 to \$55,000, while the median income in Evanston (at large) ranges from \$60,000 to \$110,000.”³⁵ However, awareness alone is a performative contradiction as there needs to be a connection between theory and application when it comes to racial justice programs and supports the application of reparations as a potential remedy.³⁶

Early Reparations Efforts in Evanston

In 2002, the City Council and its members passed Resolution 43-R-02, *Slave Reparations*. Resolution 43-R-02 was sent to the Illinois general assembly and U.S. Congress in support of national reparations legislation. In August of 2019, the Reparations Subcommittee of the City Council of Evanston was established to determine how the City should allocate ten million dollars of the City's Municipal Cannabis Retailer's Occupation Tax for local reparations. By February, 2019, efforts began to develop an extensive process that allowed for community engagement on how to develop reparations at the local level.³⁷ In November 2019, the Evanston City Council adopted Resolution 58-R-19.2, which committed community efforts to “end structural racism and achieve racial equity.”³⁸ This process led the City of Evanston to specifically address its history of discriminatory housing practices by committing funds for local housing and economic development programs through Resolution 126-R-19.³⁹

The Restorative Housing Program is the first initiative developed by the Reparations Subcommittee focused on preserving, stabilizing, and increasing homeownership, which in turn builds intergenerational wealth among Black and African American residents. A housing program was prioritized as the first program to be funded by the Local Reparations Fund after the initial community feedback reported by the Equity and Empowerment Commission in 2019. The Subcommittee held extensive public meetings during the development of the Program. The Reparations Subcommittee was dissolved in April 2020 to be replaced with the Reparations Committee, which was formally codified in 2021.⁴⁰

Instances of racial discrimination perpetrated by the City of Evanston included Relocation of Black homes in the 1920s; Red-Lining and Segregation-driven housing practices in the 1930s and 40s; lack of enforcement or implementation of fair housing policies of the 1960s and 70s; secondary and tertiary impact of racially discriminatory policies and practices during the 1980s

³⁴ City of Evanston, City Clerk Memo. The Case for Reparations. Devon Reid to Robin Rue Simmons (April 18, 2019).

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Yamamoto E.K. (1998). Racial reparations: Japanese American redress and African American claims. *Boston College Third World Law Journal*, 19(1), 476-523

³⁷ Ald. Robin Rue Simmons, July 11, 2021, AARN transcripts.

³⁸ Evanston Resolution 58-R-19/ Ending Structural Racism, <https://www.cityofevanston.org/home/showpublisheddocument/>

³⁹ *Evanston Local Reparations*, City of Evanston, <https://www.cityofevanston.org/government/city-council/reparations>

⁴⁰ *City of Evanston Local Reparations: Restorative Housing Program*, City of Evanston, <https://www.cityofevanston.org/home/showpublisheddocument?id=62777> p. 3, paragraph 3 See also, Resolution 37-R-21, authorizing the Local Reparations Restorative Housing Program

and 1990s. In 2019, the City of Evanston sought to redress these harms and passed an ordinance that would redress harms and rebuild community.⁴¹



Image 1. Home in Evanston in need of repair

⁴¹ City of Evanston, City Clerk Memo. The Case for Reparations. Devon Reid to Robin Rue Simmons (April 18, 2019).

APPROPRIATE AND NECESSARY REMEDIAL ACTION

The City of Evanston affirmed the Adoption of Resolution 37-R-27, March 22, 2021, authorizing the implementation of the Evanston Local Reparations Restorative Housing Program. This action was necessary because race-neutral attempts to remedy these issues did not have the desired impact on those who were harmed by the original policies.

Though redress for the extensive harms perpetrated by the United States government against African Americans has long been advocated, the past several years have seen a recent, growing surge in calls to action on both the local, national, and global playing fields. In January 2021, President Joseph R. Biden acknowledged the role the U.S. government has played in assuring residential segregation, denouncing the legacies of these policies such as the racial wealth gap, barriers to minority homeownership, and environmental health disparities.⁴² “[I]t is the policy of my Administration that the Federal Government shall work with communities to end housing discrimination, to provide redress to those who have experienced housing discrimination,” President Biden announced in a memorandum for the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development issued just six days after inauguration.⁴³

In Congress, historic developments have taken place regarding federal reparations legislation that has remained stagnant for more than three decades. On April 14, 2021, the United States House of Representatives made history by voting to move H.R. 40, a resolution to establish a Commission to Study and Develop Reparation Proposals for African Americans, to the House floor for the first time since the bill was first introduced in 1989.⁴⁴ The calls to action have not been limited to the United States. On June 1, 2021, the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights issued a report calling on nations around the world to recognize and redress the harms suffered by people of African descent—including unequal access to professional, educational, housing, health care, and other resources—as a result of established systemic discrimination. “States should initiate comprehensive processes to halt, reverse and repair the lasting consequences and ongoing manifestations of these legacies in their specific national context,” the report writes, “These processes should be designed to seek the truth, define the harm, pursue justice and reparations and contribute to non-recurrence and reconciliation.” This most recent directive builds upon an extensive body of international human rights law mandating that state actors provide reparations for acts of racial discrimination.

Thus, the need for reparations is indisputable and well established. The question then becomes how to enact the changes so many have advocated for and begin the process of repairing the long and pervasive history of harms perpetrated against African Americans. The National

⁴² *Memorandum on Redressing Our Nation’s and the Federal Government’s History of Discriminatory Housing Practices and Policies*, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/presidential-actions/2021/01/26/memorandum-on-redressing-our-nations-and-the-federal-governments-history-of-discriminatory-housing-practices-and-policies/>; Note - The White House memo directs the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) to examine and implement the Fair Housing Act in order to prevent practices that result in an unjustified discriminatory effect.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Human Rights Watch, “Historic Progress on US Slavery Reparations Bill,” <https://www.hrw.org/news/2021/04/15/historic-progress-us-slavery-reparations-bill#>

Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (N’COBRA) defines reparations in the following way: “Reparations is a process of repairing, healing and restoring a people injured because of their group identity and in violation of their fundamental human rights by governments, corporations, institutions and families. Those groups that have been injured have the right to obtain from the government, corporation, institution or family responsible for the injuries that which they need to repair and heal themselves. In addition to being a demand for justice, it is a principle of international human rights law.”⁴⁵

In Evanston, specifically, the mayor acknowledged the role that the city of Evanston played in housing discrimination and its negative generational impact. In 2019, the city of Evanston successfully passed Resolution 126-R-19, A Resolution Establishing a City of Evanston Funding Source Devoted to Local Reparations. Addressing historical wrongdoing at the state and local level will tackle the ongoing harm and likely result in an improved Resolution 37-R- 21, approved by the Evanston City Council on March 22, 2021, which would be the first step towards remedying the harm done to African American residents in Evanston. The bill will allocate \$400,000 in housing grants to African American descendants negatively impacted by residential segregation through a Local Reparations Restorative Housing Program.

As the first of its kind, the legislation being enacted by the Evanston city council is paving the pathway for the reparations movement in the United States and across the globe. The power of local reparations is that it directly remediates specific harms experienced by individuals. Efforts such as the Local Reparations Restorative Housing Program will produce not only accountability for those responsible for the harm; it provides a tangible, immediate remedy for those individuals who were impacted.

Down payment assistance is a narrowly tailored remedy for racial housing segregation

As barriers to homeownership are the root cause of the racial segregation and subsequent sociopolitical harms experienced by African American individuals in Evanston, down payment assistance through Resolutions 126-R-19 and 37-R-21 are narrowly tailored, effective means of redressing the harms experienced by African American ancestors or direct descendants— as defined through Resolution 126-R-19—in Evanston.⁴⁶

In the next decade alone, an estimated 5 million minority homeowners could be created by eliminating the gap in home-ownership rates between Black and white Americans.⁴⁷ There is an established precedent of the use of down payment assistance programs in other cities across the United States. While down payment assistance has been more often used to address financial disparity, the city of Evanston utilizes down payment assistance to serve the compelling state interest of remedying the de facto racial segregation existing today.

⁴⁵ N’COBRA, Reparations, <https://www.ncobraonline.org/reparations/>.

⁴⁶ Resolution 126-R-19, A resolution, Establishing a City of Evanston Funding Source Devoted to Local Reparations <https://www.cityofevanston.org/home/showpublisheddocument/62672/637511530122430000>, 2.

⁴⁷ Urban Institute, “An Essential Role for Down Payment Assistance in Closing America’s Racial Homeownership and Wealth Gaps,” https://www.urban.org/sites/default/files/publication/104134/an-essential-role-for-down-payment-assistance-in-closing-americas-racial-homeownership-and-wealth-gaps_0.pdf, 2.

The efficacy of down payment assistance programs to target racial homeownership disparity has been gaining momentum. At the federal level, House Representative Maxine Waters introduced the “Downpayment Toward Equity Act of 2021,” which allocates funding to provide \$25,000 housing grants to new homeowners. This will “address multigenerational inequities in access to homeownership and to narrow and ultimately close the racial homeownership gap in the United States.”⁴⁸

By reinvesting in African American communities, the historic legislation being implemented legitimizes the voice of the Black community and will begin to restructure the deeply entrenched wealth disparities that exist in Evanston today as a result of the discriminatory zoning acts that were systematically enforced for generations. By providing \$25,000 housing grants to the very descendants of those African American residents who experienced negative impacts—reduced economic opportunity, inadequate health care, over-policing, and unequal educational access, as we have established, among others—as a result of Evanston’s discriminatory housing practices, Resolution 37-R-21 will target the original cause of these harms. This resolution will contribute to the consequent dismantling of the economic, educational, health, and policing disparities between Black and white Evanston residents. By building generational wealth among communities from which the government has historically divested, the impacts of Resolutions 126-R-19 and 37-R-21 will be vast and continue to have ripple effects long into the future.

⁴⁸ The Downpayment Toward Equity Act of 2021, <https://www.ncsha.org/resource/the-downpayment-toward-equity-act-of-2021/>

CONCLUSION

In Evanston, remedial action was taken in order to address the specific harms of the racial segregation. Exclusionary housing policies at the time the infrastructure of the city was built led to a myriad of inequity in Evanston. Similarly, the proposed reparations housing policy will likely lead to improvements in multiple aspects of the community. This study includes specific data, past and present, on housing discrimination in Evanston specifically. In addition, the study compares national data from other cities as Evanston is not the only city to have experienced racial segregation and is not unique in that racial segregation has led to racial disparities. Further, the current housing reparations program data provides both information specific to Evanston as well as national and comparative data. This study demonstrates how the reparations program is narrowly tailored to support the group of people it is intended to help, and why that particular group needs help.

Further, the study shows that the program is not over-inclusive. The study utilizes specific statistical evidence, with supporting anecdotal evidence. While much of the evidence is specific to housing discrimination, since that is the basis of the reparations program, several national research studies are also included. Further, there is an analytical framework that shows the causal relationship between housing discrimination policies and racial disparity in Evanston. In its section on the necessity of remedial action, the study demonstrates that this specific group of people historically faced discrimination by Evanston, and that this same group of people would have otherwise been in the housing market but were instead pushed out or disadvantaged in that market due to discrimination.

APPENDIX

11/14/2019

126-R-19

A RESOLUTION

Establishing a City of Evanston Funding Source Devoted to Local Reparations

WHEREAS, on September 9, 2019, the City of Evanston (the "City") approved the recommendations of the Equity & Empowerment Commission related to local reparations for African American residents of the City; and

WHEREAS, the City Council formed a subcommittee of its Council members to conduct a feasibility study to determine the viability of several recommendations: 1) housing assistance and relief initiatives for African American residents in Evanston; and 2) various Economic Development programs and opportunities for African American residents and entrepreneurs in Evanston; and 3) education initiatives for African American residents of Evanston; and

WHEREAS, the Cannabis Regulation and Tax Act, Public Act 101-27 (the "Act"), was signed into law and went into effect on June 25, 2019; and

WHEREAS, the Municipal Cannabis Retailers' Occupation Tax Law, 65 ILCS 5/8-11-22 (the "Law"), was enacted as part of the Act; and

WHEREAS, the Law provides that the City may "impose a tax upon all persons engaged in the business of selling cannabis, other than cannabis purchased under the Compassionate Use of Medical Cannabis Pilot Program Act, at retail" in the City "on the gross receipts from these sales made in the course of that business" in an

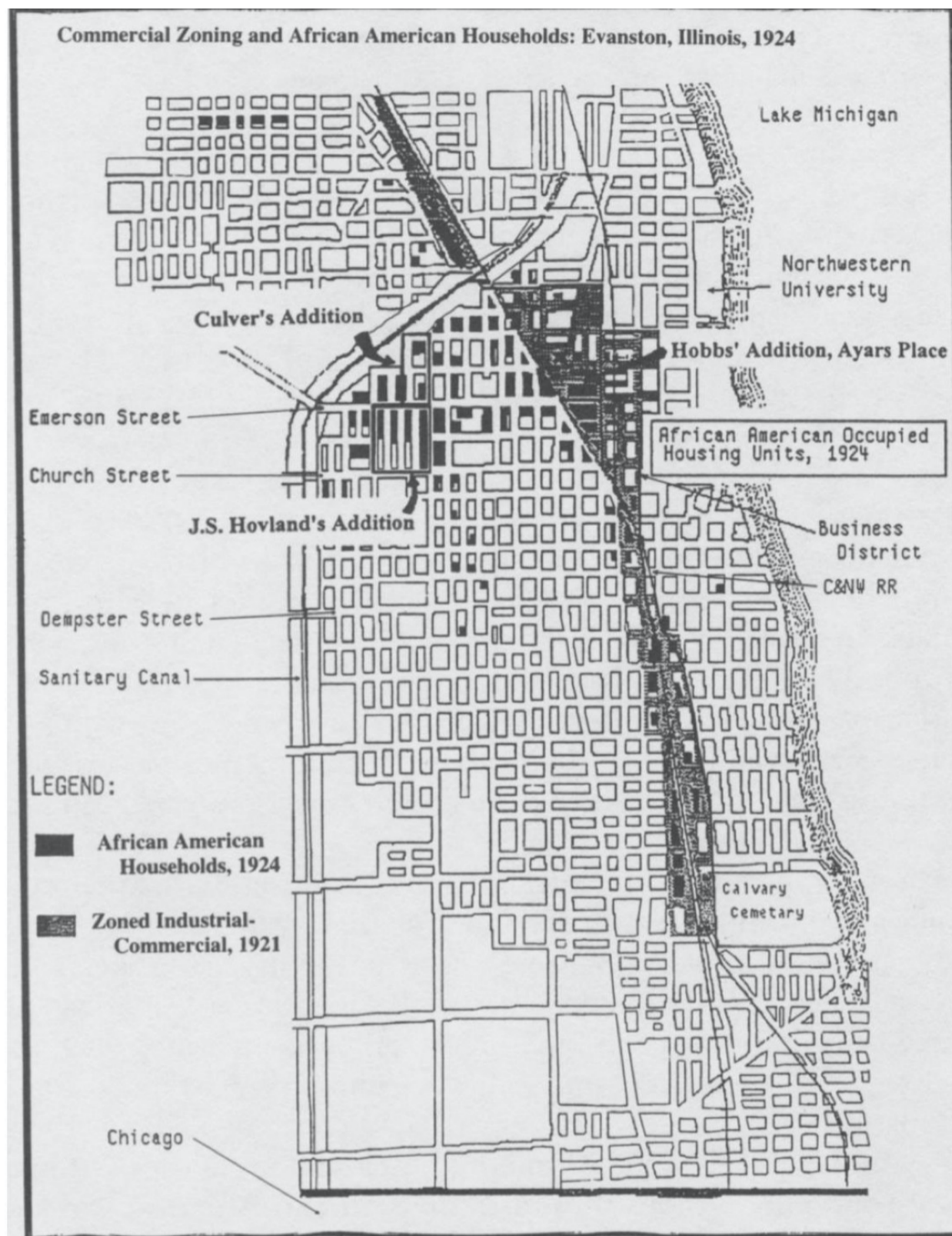


Figure 1. David Bruner, "A General Survey of the Negro Population of Evanston," 1924; "Use Map," Evanston Plan Committee, 1921

Evanston's zoning plan "use map" indicated the kind of territories that Negroes find open to them: "largely commercial and light industrial areas along the track, and districts so remote from transportation facilities as to be comparatively undesirable." This type of zoning, also termed expulsive zoning, was strategically implemented as a way to move and secure Black communities to a particular section of the town. The zoning of industrial or semi-industrial in Evanston's Black neighborhoods resulted in the future demolition of dozens of Black occupied housing units in these areas. The commercial development "racially cleansed" east and central Evanston.



Figure 2. Wieboldt's department stores, William Brubaker Collection (University of Illinois at Chicago) Repository: University of Illinois at Chicago. Library. Special Collections Department, 1976 C.

The commercial and industrial creep and displacement of Black Evanstonians was evident throughout the history of town. In the 1950's, Wieboldt's department store was established along Church street from the intersection with Oak Avenue. Albert and Louise Strong reported "When Weiboldt's come in there...everybody had to move out of there... The Avery's lived in there, Simon Matthew lived there. And Rose (Wannmim?) Lived there.

Ketih's family lived there. All of us were there. That was when Wieboldt's was built...Put all these people out and put a parking lot in there." Shorefront Voices, Albert and Louise Strong, transcript, May 5, 2020, p. 26 retrieved from-<http://shorefrontvoice.shorefrontlegacy.org/2020/05/05/william-michael-summers/>

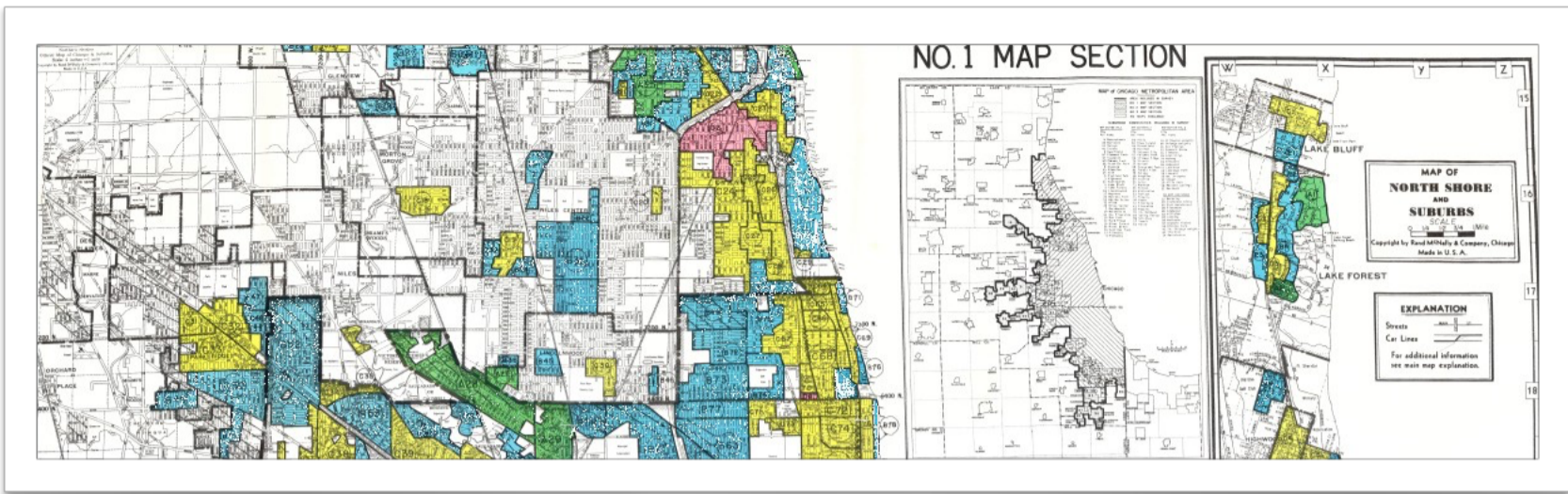


Figure 3. Image HOLC map, Evanston, IL, Red-lining of 5th Ward.

Housing discriminatory practices were a microcosm of the greater political landscape. The Federal Housing Administration's red-lining based on mortgage worthiness developed as a result of a 1930s gathering of the Home Owners' Loan Corporation. Real estate companies, mortgage lenders and contractors developed color-coded maps indicating whether communities were credit-worthy. Evanston's red-lined communities are outlined in the HOLC map demonstrating that the area deemed ineligible for FHA mortgages was primarily the 5th ward. "This neighborhood houses the large negro population living in Evanston...There is not a vacant house in the territory, and occupancy, moreover, is about 150 per cent, for most houses have more than one family living in them." See, Mapping Inequality, Redlining in New Deal American, Evanston, IL, Description and characteristics of area. University of Richmond's Digital Scholarship Lab.

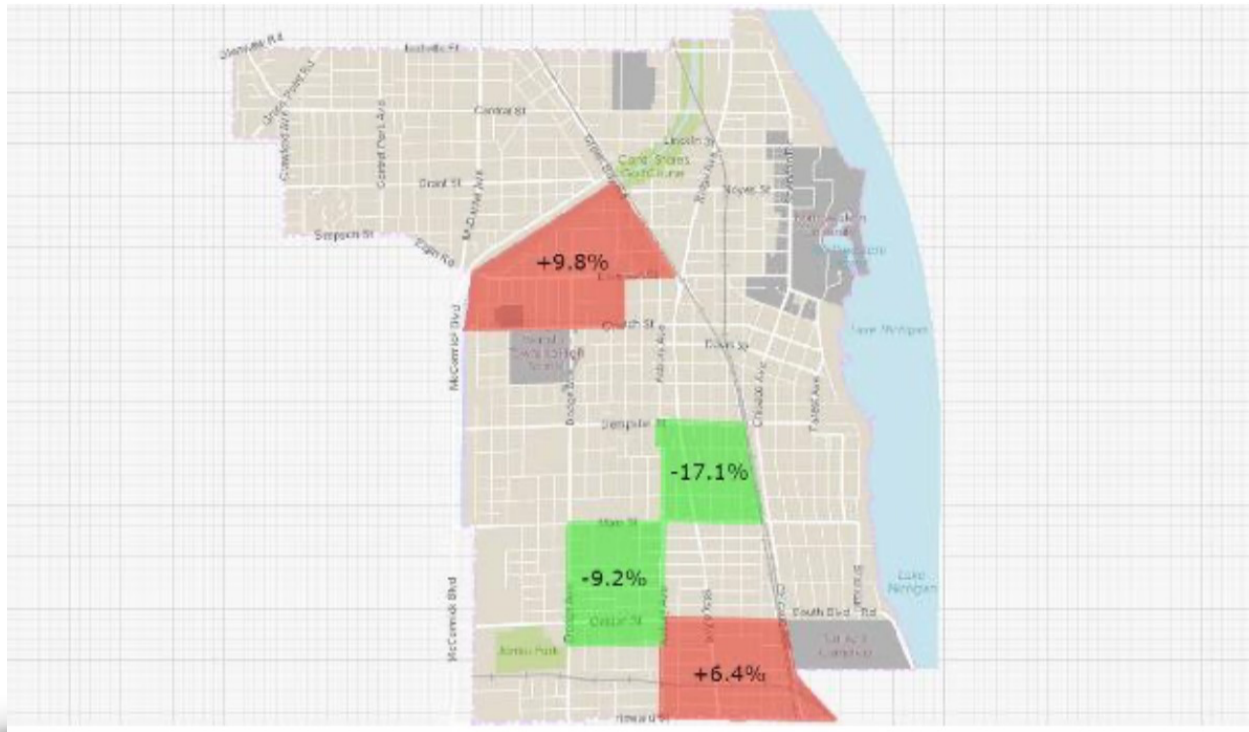
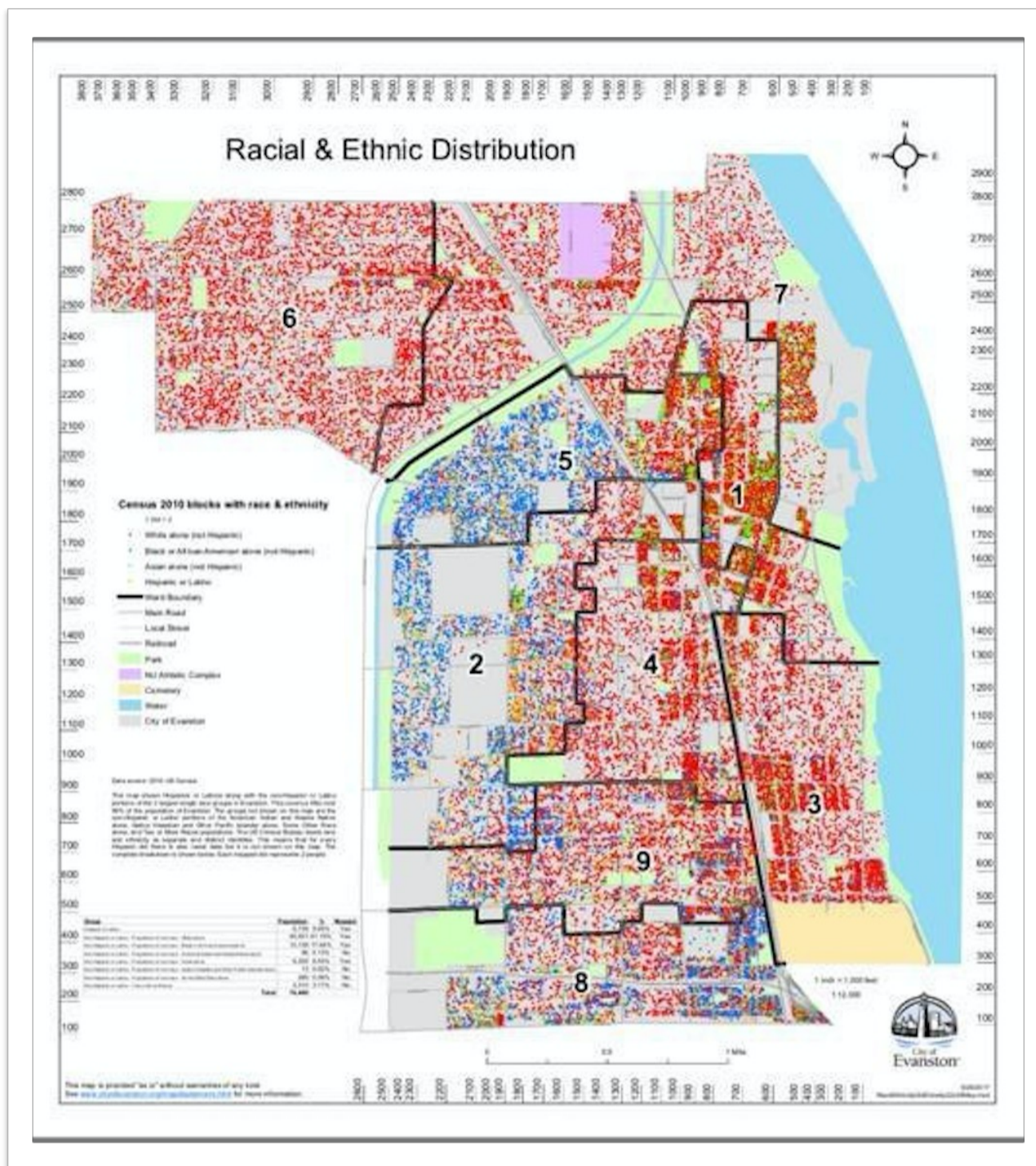


Figure 5. Resolution 126-R-19, p.1

Resolution 126-R-19 was the first initiative developed by the Reparations Subcommittee focused on preserving, stabilizing, and increasing homeownership, which builds intergenerational wealth among Black/African American residents. A housing program was prioritized as the first program to be funded by the Local Reparations Fund after the initial community feedback reported by the Equity and Empowerment Commission in 2019.



Community actions mimicked Evanston’s housing zoning practices and policies. After 1910, Evanston's white real estate brokers also enacted a practice of informal racial zoning. The discriminatory treatment towards Evanston’s Black Community, permeated every aspect of life. In 1939, Evanston’s first Black City Council member, Edwin B. Jourdain Jr relayed examples of the Evanston Black experience in a letter to his friend, W.E.B. DuBois, co-founder of the NAACP. Evanston was “a town that once forced negroes¹ to sit in balconies only of movie houses, to use only a ‘colored bathing beach’ on the lakefront, to use city owned parks only for ball games among all-white or all-Negro teams, to stay off all city boards and commissions, to have no colored school teachers at all.” E[dwin] B. Jourdain, Jr. to W.E.B. Du Bois, February 17, 1939, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312) Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b088-i365>

For many, Harland Bartholemew is considered to be the architect of modern segregation because of his theories in the practice of zoning and his work on city planning, infrastructure and automobility. He pioneered urban renewal through the use of eminent domain as early as 1938.